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AUTHOR	Lerner, Robert; Nagai, Althea K.
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ABSTRACT

This study examined the extent to which racial and ethnic preferences were used in the admissions policies of six North Carolina public universities ranging from the most to the least selective. Data were collected on applicants, admittees, rejectees, and enrollees regarding racial or ethnic group, SAT scores, and high school grade point averages. Results indicated that all six schools had substantial qualifications gaps between black and white applicants who had been accepted for future enrollment. The odds of admission at five schools indicated a strong degree of preference in admissions given to blacks over whites. Only a moderate qualifications gap existed between Hispanic and white applicants accepted for future enrollment. The odds of admission of Hispanic versus white students differed at the six schools. Asian applicants received no special preference at any of the schools, and the odds of admission favored whites over Asians. Schools routinely rejected many white applicants with higher test scores and grades than black applicants who were admitted. The 6-year graduation rates of white students were higher than those of blacks at all schools. (SM)

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Preferences in North Carolina Higher Education

Racial and Ethnic Preferences in Undergraduate Admissions at Six North Carolina Public Universities

By Robert Lerner, Ph.D. and
Althea K. Nagai, Ph.D.

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Executive Summary 1

- All six public colleges and universities in North Carolina that we studied--NC State and UNC at Asheville, Chapel Hill, Charlotte, Greensboro, and Wilmington--show a substantial qualifications gap between black and white applicants who have been accepted for future enrollment. There was no school at which the black median SAT scores or GPA was equal to or higher than the white median for students admitted in 1995. Differences in verbal SATs range from 90 points at Chapel Hill to 50 points at Greensboro, in math SATs from 110 at NC State to 70 points at Asheville, and in GPAs from 0.46 of a grade point at Wilmington to 0.04 at Greensboro.

- The odds of admission at five of the six schools studied indicate a strong degree of preference in admissions given to blacks over whites. These odds ratios range from 177.1 at NC State to 3.4 at Chapel Hill. The odds of admission at Greensboro, 0.97, indicate that preferences do not operate there.

- Hispanic-white comparisons are mixed. Only a moderate qualifications gap exists between white and Hispanic applicants who have been accepted for future enrollment at many schools. The largest gap in verbal SAT scores is 70 points at Asheville, the largest gap in math SATs is 20 at NC State, and the largest gap in GPA is 0.29 at Asheville. At Wilmington and Chapel Hill, however, Hispanic admittees are more qualified than their white counterparts on verbal SATs and high school GPA.

- The odds of admission of Hispanics to whites at Asheville, 14.4, indicates a strong degree of preference given to Hispanics over whites. But the odds of admission are reversed at Chapel Hill (0.31) and Wilmington (0.47), substantially favoring whites over Hispanics.

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- There is no evidence that Asian applicants receive special preference at any North Carolina colleges and universities. In fact, there is evidence that Asian applicants with the same academic qualifications find it somewhat more difficult to obtain admission than do their white counterparts. At every school studied, the odds of admission favor whites over Asians.

- Earlier studies have found that the higher the school's academic standards, the greater the degree shown in racial preference. This is less clear-cut at North Carolina colleges and universities, although NC State does have the greatest degree of preference and Greensboro has the least degree of preference.

- Schools routinely reject many white applicants with higher test scores and grades than black applicants who are admitted.

- The six-year graduation rates of white students are higher than those of blacks at every school studied. This is consistent with the existence of Affirmative Action and similar to what we have found elsewhere, indicating that preferences have a negative impact on graduation rates.

- North Carolina schools would not become resegregated in the absence of preferences. There would be no universities without black admittees. Only Chapel Hill, Asheville, and NC State might lose a significant proportion of those who would currently be admitted. Those students would immediately be admitted to the other public universities in the state.

●Introduction

For nearly 30 years, racial and ethnic preferences have played a key role in how admissions officers at the nation's public and private colleges and universities have chosen their undergraduate classes. A system of racial and ethnic preferences in admissions operates by establishing different standards of admission for individuals based on their racial or ethnic background, with some students held to a higher standard and others admitted to a lower standard. Earlier in this century, some colleges and universities denied admissions to Jews, blacks, women, and members of other groups even when their grades, test scores, and other measures of academic achievement surpassed those of white males who were offered an opportunity to enroll.

The passage of new civil rights legislation in the 1960s made this kind of blatant discrimination illegal. Since then, however, many colleges and universities have created affirmative action programs meant to boost the enrollment of students whose backgrounds previously had excluded them from pursuing a higher education--especially blacks and, to a lesser extent, Hispanics--by granting them preferences during the admissions process.

These policies, when their existence was made public, became immediately controversial, and they remain so today. Defenders of racial and ethnic preferences claim that these policies are not discriminatory and help administrators choose between equally or almost equally qualified students, giving a slight edge to applicants who likely have faced discrimination or have come from disadvantaged backgrounds. Critics of preferences say that these policies are no better than the discriminatory ones they replaced and that, in any event, the advantages they confer upon certain applicants are much greater than

supporters are willing to admit.

Public colleges and universities have seen their ability to use racial and ethnic preferences increasingly restricted. Court decisions have generally been hostile to such preferences. The enactment of California's Proposition 209 (also known as the California Civil Rights Initiative) forbids discrimination against or granting special treatment to any applicant on the bases of race, ethnicity, or sex in the public programs of the country's largest state. Grassroots activists elsewhere are trying to place similar proposals on their own state ballots. Eventually legislators, both in Congress and in state capitals, may enact legislation modeled on the new California law.

This study examines the extent to which racial and ethnic preferences are used in the admissions policies of a cross-section of North Carolina's public universities. It submits admissions data supplied by these universities to a rigorous statistical analysis. This report is the latest in a series published by the Center for Equal Opportunity (CEO), a public policy research organization. Earlier CEO studies have focused on the public colleges and universities of Colorado and Michigan, the U.S. Military Academy and the U.S. Naval Academy, and the branches of the University of California at Berkeley, Irvine, and San Diego. Previous reports have shown that blacks and Hispanics often receive an enormous degree of preference in the undergraduate admissions process at the schools studied.

●Methodology

The six universities examined in this study represent a cross-section of North Carolina's public institutions of higher education, from the most to the least selective. Each of the schools studied here provided the raw data for our statistical analysis of undergraduate admissions for the fall 1995 class of incoming freshmen. The universities are North Carolina State University and the University of North Carolina at Asheville, Chapel Hill, Charlotte, Greensboro, and Wilmington. Figure 1 provides a list of schools, followed by their ranking in the 1997 edition of Barron's Profiles of American Colleges.

We received data on individual applicants, admittees, rejectees, and enrollees regarding their racial or ethnic group membership, their verbal and math SAT scores, and high-school grade point averages. (High school GPAs are on a 5-point scale, since an additional point is added to the grade earned in an advanced-placement course.) We omit from our analyses those cases for which race or ethnicity is listed as "other," or is missing or unknown. We also omit Native Americans because of their small numbers in this context. Lastly, we omit cases with missing academic data.

Figure 1
Profile of Six Public Universities in North Carolina

School	*Ranking in* Barron's
NC State	Very Competitive
UNC Asheville	Very Competitive
UNC Chapel Hill	Highly Competitive
UNC Charlotte	Competitive
UNC Greensboro	Less Competitive
UNC Wilmington	Competitive

We do not report group means for test scores or class ranks. Using group means places greater weight on extreme values than is warranted. A few unusually high or low scores can have a substantial effect on the value of the mean. Standard deviations, which are based on squared deviations from the mean, are even less useful for describing the spread of cases for asymmetrical, badly skewed distributions. This is because standard deviations reflect the mathematical square of these extreme values.

The median, however, and related statistics are far less affected by the values of extreme cases. The median represents the middle of the distribution, so that 50 percent of all students have higher scores and 50 percent have lower scores.

We also report scores at the 25th and 75th percentiles, again to deal with the problem of extreme cases. While the median represents the middle of the distribution, the 25th and 75th percentile scores taken together represent the actual spread of scores. For example, a 25th percentile score of 650 means that 25 percent of the scores were below 650, while 75 percent of the scores were above it. A 75th percentile score of 700 means that 75 percent of the scores were below 700, while 25 percent were above 700.

●Racial and Ethnic Differences in Admittee Qualifications

Applicants and Admissions

Figure 2 shows the admission rates at the North Carolina schools studied. In general, and without controlling for relative qualifications, whites and blacks are admitted at higher rates than are Hispanics and Asians, the only exception being Asheville, where Hispanics are admitted at the highest rate. At Chapel Hill, the admission rate for Hispanics is less than half the black rate and about half the white rate. A similar situation is found at Wilmington.

Figure 2
Racial Differences in Admission Rates

School	Blacks	Hispanics	Asians	Whites
NC State	76.4%	55.5%	70.6%	72.4%
UNC Asheville	68.6%	75.0%	66.7%	66.0%
UNC Chapel Hill	69.4%	31.5%	52.3%	62.2%
UNC Charlotte	70.2%	67.1%	70.9%	75.7%
UNC Greensboro	80.4%	89.3%	87.2%	91.6%
UNC Wilmington	64.9%	39.8%	53.6%	56.2%

We examine three pairs of differences in admittee qualifications: white-black, white-Hispanic, and white-Asian. Treating each pair of comparisons separately makes it easier to see whether substantial differences in racial and ethnic differences exist, for which groups they are greatest, and for which schools they are the greatest.

Differences between Whites and Blacks

White admittees on average have considerably better credentials than do blacks, regardless of whether we examine SATs or high school GPAs. Figure 3 shows the white-black gap in math SATs, verbal SATs, and high school GPAs. The white-black gap for math SATs ranges from a high of 110 at NC State to a low of 70 points at Asheville. The white-black gap for verbal SATs ranges from a high at Chapel Hill of 90 points to a low of 50 points at Greensboro. The white-black gap ranges from 0.46 of a grade point at Wilmington to only 0.04 at Greensboro.

Figure 3
White-Black Admittee Differences

Verbal SAT Scores			
	Whites	Blacks	Difference in Median Scores
UNC Chapel Hill	570	480	90
NC State	510	430	80
UNC Asheville	580	500	80
UNC Wilmington	460	390	70
UNC Charlotte	460	400	60
UNC Greensboro	450	400	50
Math SAT Scores			
	Whites	Blacks	Difference in Median Scores
NC State	590	480	110
UNC Chapel Hill	630	530	100
UNC Charlotte	520	420	100
UNC Wilmington	520	420	100
UNC Greensboro	490	410	80
UNC Asheville	560	490	70
GPAs			
	Whites	Blacks	Difference in Median GPA
UNC Wilmington	3.40	2.95	0.45
UNC Chapel Hill	3.99	3.60	0.39
NC State	3.65	3.27	0.38
UNC Charlotte	3.38	3.10	0.28
UNC Asheville	3.54	3.36	0.18
UNC Greensboro	3.14	3.10	0.04

The pattern of results is clear. There is no case in which the black median is equal to or greater than the

white median, whether for test scores or grades. For three different measures of qualifications there are 18 different cases in which the white median is higher than the black median and none in which the reverse is true. The probability of this happening by chance is exceedingly small. It is the same as the probability of flipping an evenly weighted coin and getting 18 heads in a row.

This is strong evidence of the use of Affirmative Action to increase black enrollment at North Carolina's public universities.

Differences between Whites and Hispanics

White-Hispanic differences are substantially smaller than white-black differences. Figure 4 shows the white-Hispanic gaps in math SATs, verbal SATs, and median GPAs. The largest white-Hispanic gap in math SATs is 20 points at NC State, while the smallest white-Hispanic gap is zero at Charlotte. The largest white-Hispanic verbal SAT gap is 70 points at Asheville, while the smallest white-Hispanic gap is -30 points at Wilmington. At Chapel Hill and Wilmington, Hispanic admittees have higher median verbal SAT scores than their white counterparts. The difference in median GPA between whites and Hispanics is greatest at Asheville, where the gap is 0.29 points, and smallest at Wilmington, where the gap is -0.05 of a grade point. At Chapel Hill, Hispanic admittees also have slightly better GPAs than do their white counterparts.

Figure 4

White-Hispanic Admittee Differences

Verbal SAT Scores			
	Whites	Hispanics	Difference in Median Scores
UNC Asheville	580	510	70
UNC Charlotte	460	450	10
UNC Greensboro	450	440	10
NC State	510	505	5
UNC Chapel Hill	570	590	-20
UNC Wilmington	460	490	-30
Math SAT Scores			
	Whites	Hispanics	Difference in Median Scores
NC State	590	570	20
UNC Asheville	560	545	15
UNC Chapel Hill	630	620	10
UNC Greensboro	490	480	10
UNC Wilmington	520	510	10
UNC Charlotte	520	520	0
GPAs			
	Whites	Hispanics	Difference in Median GPA
UNC Asheville	3.54	3.25	0.29
UNC Greensboro	3.14	2.99	0.15
UNC Charlotte	3.38	3.25	0.13
NC State	3.65	3.57	0.08
UNC Chapel Hill	3.99	4.00	-0.01
UNC Wilmington	3.40	3.45	-0.05

For three different measures of qualifications, there are 18 white-Hispanic comparisons. In 13 of the cases, the white median is higher than the Hispanic median. In five cases, the Hispanic median is equal to or greater than the white median. The probability of this happening by chance is about 1 in 20, which reaches the $p < .05$ level of statistical significance.

This is some evidence of Affirmative Action being used to increase Hispanic enrollment in North Carolina's public universities. With the exception of Asheville, however, the Hispanic-white differences are quite small.

Differences between Whites and Asians

Compared to their white counterparts, Asian admittees on average have equal or better math SAT scores, worse verbal SAT scores, and better grades. Figure 5 shows the white-Asian gaps in math SATs, verbal SATs, and median GPA. The largest white-Asian gap in math SATs is zero, which occurs at Asheville, Charlotte, and Wilmington. The smallest white-Asian gap is -50 points at Chapel Hill. The largest white-Asian gap in verbal SATs is 55 points at Greensboro, while the smallest white-Asian gap is 10 points at Chapel Hill. The white-Asian gap in high school GPA is small but uniformly negative--i.e., Asians have

higher median grades than do whites. The smallest white-Asian gap is -0.01 points at Chapel Hill, while the largest such gap is -0.34 points at Charlotte.

There is no evidence that Asians benefit from Affirmative Action at North Carolina public universities. If anything, there is some indication of possible discrimination against Asians.

Figure 5
White-Asian Admittee Differences

Verbal SAT Scores			
	Whites	Asians	Difference in Median Scores
UNC Greensboro	450	395	55
UNC Asheville	580	550	30
UNC Charlotte	460	430	30
UNC Wilmington	460	440	20
NC State	510	490	20
UNC Chapel Hill	570	560	10
Math SAT Scores			
	Whites	Asians	Difference in Median Scores
UNC Asheville	560	560	0
UNC Charlotte	520	520	0
UNC Wilmington	520	520	0
UNC Greensboro	490	510	-20
NC State	590	630	-40
UNC Chapel Hill	630	680	-50
GPAs			
	Whites	Asians	Difference in Median GPA
UNC Chapel Hill	3.99	4.00	-0.01
UNC Wilmington	3.40	3.42	-0.02
UNC Greensboro	3.14	3.18	-0.03
UNC Asheville	3.54	3.60	-0.06
NC State	3.65	3.83	-0.18
UNC Charlotte	3.38	3.72	-0.34

The Odds of Admission

Admitting students based on racial or ethnic preference results in schools accepting certain minorities with lower test scores and grades than other students at the same schools. This creates a situation in which a group of enrollees that was admitted under a scheme of preferences at a more competitive school actually has the same qualifications as whites admitted to a less competitive school. Admissions officers essentially reach down into the applicant pool and pull up certain students. This practice generally results in at least some whites and Asians with better credentials than black and Hispanic enrollees being rejected from the same schools, despite their superior qualifications.

One way to show this gap is to combine all the data reported above. A useful way to do this is to develop models that predict the probability of admission at each school for members of the different racial and ethnic groups, holding constant their qualifications. This can be done by computing prediction equations for the admissions decision by race and ethnicity and including test scores and high school GPA as statistical control variables.

Computing these prediction equations has a second, extremely important advantage. It allows us to show in a plain manner whether the chances of admission at any school are affected by an individual's racial or ethnic group membership. This provides a single direct measure of the degree of racial or ethnic preference for each racial or ethnic group relative to whites at each school.

The technique we employ for these purposes is logistic regression. Computing logistic regression equations allows us to derive the odds of admission for each racial or ethnic group relative to that of whites. The odds ratio is somewhat like a correlation coefficient, except instead of varying from Ð1 to 1, it varies between zero and infinity. An odds ratio of 1 means that the odds (of admission) for the two groups are equal. It is equivalent to a correlation of zero. An odds ratio greater than 1 means that the odds of members of one group being admitted are greater than those for members of the other group being admitted. An odds ratio of less than 1 is the reverse. The former is similar to a positive correlation while the latter is similar to a negative correlation. We report the computed odds ratios by racial and ethnic group membership, controlling for test scores and grades (see Figure 6).

We find that all schools (with the exception of Greensboro) grant a very large degree of racial preference in favor of blacks relative to whites, ranging from Chapel Hill's low of 3.40 to 1 to NC State's high of 177.1 to 1. These results are all statistically significant at the p <.05 level. NC State's results are as high as we found at the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor, where the comparable odds ratio was 173.7 to 1. Despite the black-white test score differentials at Greensboro, there does not appear to be any preference granted to blacks relative to whites.

We find that all schools accord some degree of preference against Asians relative to whites. These range from 0.97 to 1 at Asheville, practically even odds, to 0.43 to 1 at Greensboro. But the only odds ratio that is statistically significant is at Chapel Hill, which gives Asians odds of admission relative to whites of 0.62 to 1.

Figure 6
Odds of Admission

School	*Black to White*	*Hispanic to White*	*Asian to White*
NC State	177.10*	0.85	0.79
UNC Wilmington	57.20*	0.47*	0.68
UNC Asheville	10.00*	14.40*	0.97
UNC Charlotte	8.37*	0.72	0.61
UNC Chapel Hill	3.40*	0.31*	0.62*
UNC Greensboro	0.97	1.21	0.43
*Statistically significant at p≤ 05			

The Hispanic results are quite divergent. At Asheville, for example, the Hispanic-to-white odds of admission are 14.4 to 1. This statistically significant result indicates a strong degree of preference accorded to Hispanics against whites. On the other hand, at Chapel Hill the same odds ratio is a statistically significant (and opposite) .31 to 1. This indicates that a substantial degree of preference is accorded against Hispanics and in favor of whites. Wilmington also accords a statistically significant degree of preference against Hispanics and in favor of whites. These are the only schools we have found in our studies so far which use preferences against Hispanics.

Why do North Carolina schools show such divergent results with respect to Hispanics? Although we lack the data to ascertain the reasons with certainty, we can explore two possible alternative explanations. First, it may be that the Hispanics who are disfavored are relatively well qualified but are also out-of-state residents. They might be disfavored not because of their ethnicity but because of their residency. This possibility cannot be checked because we have no data on whether applicants are in-state or out-of-state residents. But we know that in the North Carolina system no school is allowed to admit more than 18 percent of its students from out of state ("Out-of-State Undergraduate Enrollment Policy," adopted 3/14/86, amended 2/10/95).

It is also true that the Hispanic population of North Carolina is only 1.1 percent, according to recent U.S. Census estimates, which indicates that a large proportion of Hispanic applicants may be from out-of-state. This would not, of course, explain the opposite results at Asheville. This school clearly grants preference to less qualified Hispanics against whites. A second possibility is that most Hispanics, namely Mexican Americans, receive preferences but others, namely Cuban Americans, are disfavored. This might be the case because the former are thought to be disadvantaged and the latter are not.

There is evidence for our hypothesis that the more competitive the school the greater the preference accorded to blacks relative to whites. On the one hand, the school with the lowest selectivity, Greensboro, shows no preferences at all while Wilmington and NC State exhibit extremely high degrees of preference. But Chapel Hill, the school with the best Barron's rating, while showing a substantial degree of racial preference, has a smaller black-to-white odds ratio than any North Carolina school except Greensboro.

How is this to be explained? One possible explanation is that Chapel Hill relies very little on test scores for admissions purposes. Our data, not shown here, provides some evidence of this. The Chapel Hill admissions prediction equation is the only one we have computed for all the colleges and universities where math SATs are not statistically significant predictors of admission and where verbal SAT scores are relatively weak predictors of admissions. This of course does not mean that no racial preference exists. The high black-white odds ratio of 3.4 computed above shows that it indeed exists.

In other words, it is possible that Chapel Hill attempts to maximize its black enrollment and minimize the degree of overt racial preference necessary to accomplish this goal by virtually eliminating standardized test scores as admissions criteria. This reportedly has been done to some extent at the University of Texas.

In summary, our findings provide strong evidence of the existence of Affirmative Action in favor of blacks relative to whites, somewhat weaker evidence of discrimination against Asians also relative to whites, and mixed evidence on the operation of preferences regarding Hispanics.

How Preferences Affect Graduation Rates

If students gain admission to colleges and universities for reasons other than their academic preparation, it is likely that they will face greater burdens in school than will their peers who have met a higher academic standard of admission. They may in fact not earn their degrees. It follows, therefore, that racial and ethnic preferences will have a negative effect on the graduation rates of students who supposedly benefit from them.

The six-year graduation rates for each of the racial and ethnic groups fits the odds ratios reported above reasonably well (see Figure 7). The racial and ethnic groups line up in the expected order. Blacks and Hispanics have lower graduation rates than whites and Asians, roughly paralleling the size of the admission odds ratios. The Greensboro black-white gap is small (4 points), paralleling the lack of Affirmative Action, while the gaps are much larger at NC State and Chapel Hill (21 points at each).

Figure 7
Six-Year Graduation Rates

School	Blacks	Hispanics	Asians	Whites
UNC Chapel Hill	65%	85%	86%	86%
NC State	48%	55%	66%	69%
UNC Greensboro	47%	25%	45%	51%
UNC Wilmington	45%	36%	54%	53%
UNC Charlotte	44%	50%	60%	57%
UNC Asheville	39%	29%	40%	42%

Black Admittees vs. White Rejectees

The use of racial and ethnic preferences inevitably leads to less qualified black and Hispanic students taking the place of more qualified white and Asian students. We first computed the number of white rejectees with median math and verbal SAT scores equal to or better than the black admittee median. Second, we computed the number of these individuals who also had high school GPAs equal to or greater than the black admittee median. The largest gap occurs at Chapel Hill, where 1,230 white rejectees have both median test scores and grades equal to or superior to black median admittee scores. The smallest gap occurs at Greensboro, where only two white students had both grades and SAT scores equal to or greater than the black median admittee. Wilmington had 247 such white rejectees, while NC State had 38, Asheville had 27, and Charlotte had 18.

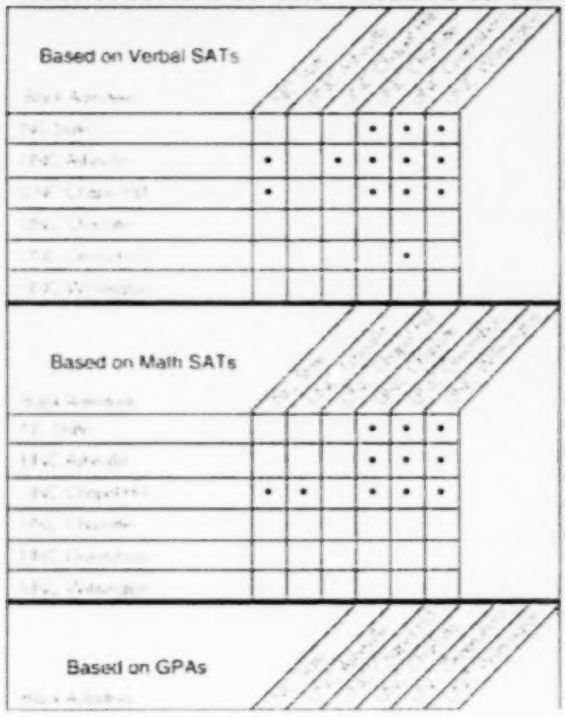
These findings provide strong additional evidence of Affirmative Action in admission at North Carolina public universities.

●What Colorblind Admissions Would Mean for North Carolina

If racial and ethnic preferences ended in North Carolina public universities, would minorities be locked out of opportunities to pursue a higher education? As a result of the enactment of California's Proposition 209 into law, experience at the University of California provides plausible answers. Recent information indicates that, while the most competitive universities had a smaller black enrollment, other universities actually gained black students or at least did not lose them.5 Despite critics' fears, all of the University of

California's universities, including Berkeley and UCLA, have enrolled (not merely accepted) many blacks.

Figure 8
Probable Access to Schools -- Median Black Admittees



To address the question for North Carolina colleges and universities, we compared the median SATs and median GPAs of black admittees at the six schools in this report with the 25th percentile scores of whites admitted at the same schools (see Figure 8). If the median score equaled or surpassed the white 25th percentile score in these categories, we assumed that the applicants could gain admission to the particular school in question.

Using verbal SATs alone, the average black Asheville admittee would be able to attend all universities except Asheville. The average black admittee at Chapel Hill would be able to attend all universities except Asheville and Chapel Hill. Using math SATs alone, the average black admittee at Chapel Hill would be able to attend every university except Chapel Hill. The average black admittee at Asheville and NC State would be able to attend Charlotte, Greensboro, and Wilmington.

Figure 9
Probable Access to Schools -- Top Quartile of Black Admittees

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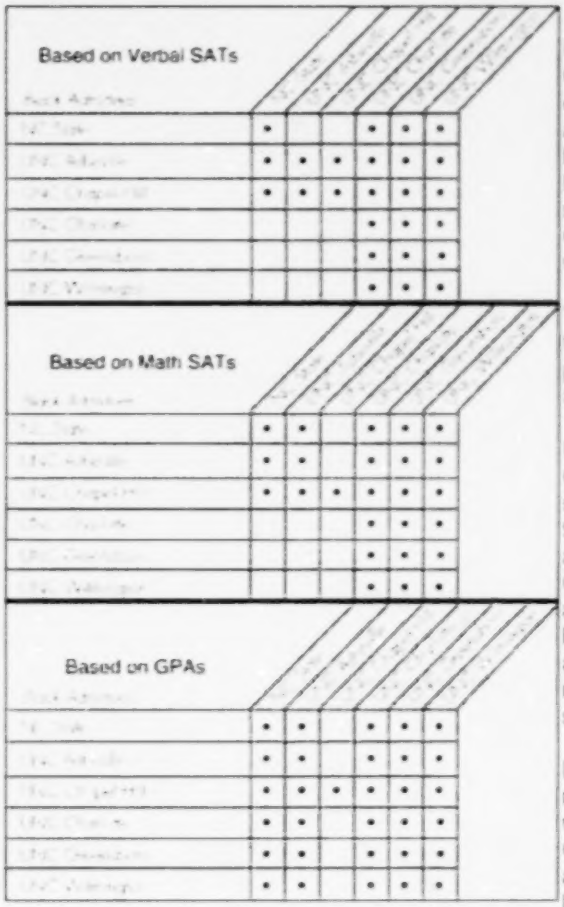

Using GPAs alone, the average black admittee at Chapel Hill and Asheville would be able to attend every university in the state except for Chapel Hill and the average black admittee at NC State would be able to attend every university in the state except NC State and Chapel Hill. Black admittees at any school in the state would be able to attend Greensboro, and all except those at Wilmington would be able to attend Charlotte.

The same calculation can be made if we compare the top quartile of black admittees (the 75th percentile) to the white 25th percentile score for SATs and GPAs.

Using these test scores and grades, we find that Chapel Hill admittees would be able to attend every school in the state including Chapel Hill (see Figure 9). We also find that Asheville admittees would be able to attend every school in the state except Chapel Hill; NC State admittees likewise would be able to attend every school except Chapel Hill. Also, black admittees from any college would be able to attend Charlotte, Greensboro, or Wilmington, regardless of the selection criteria used to admit students.

North Carolina schools would not become resegregated in the absence of preferences. There would be no universities without black admittees. Only Chapel Hill, Asheville, and NC State might lose a significant proportion of those who would currently be admitted. They would immediately be admitted to the other public universities in the state.

None of these calculations, of course, takes into account the possibility that some applicants may apply to private or out-of-state schools.

●Individual School Analysis

➢ NC State

Applicants, Admittees, and Enrollees

In 1995, 10,332 individuals applied for admission to NC State. Of these, 7,491 were admitted, and 3,469 enrolled. The overwhelming proportion of applicants, admittees, and enrollees was white.

NC State applicants

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- 12 percent black
- 2 percent Hispanic
- 4 percent Asian
- 82 percent white

NC State admittees

- 12 percent black
- 1 percent Hispanic
- 4 percent Asian
- 82 percent white

NC State admission rates

- 76 percent of black applicants
- 55 percent of Hispanic applicants
- 71 percent of Asian applicants
- 72 percent of white applicants

NC State enrollees

- 13 percent black
- 1 percent Hispanic
- 4 percent Asian
- 81 percent white

Differences in Verbal SAT Scores
Figure 10

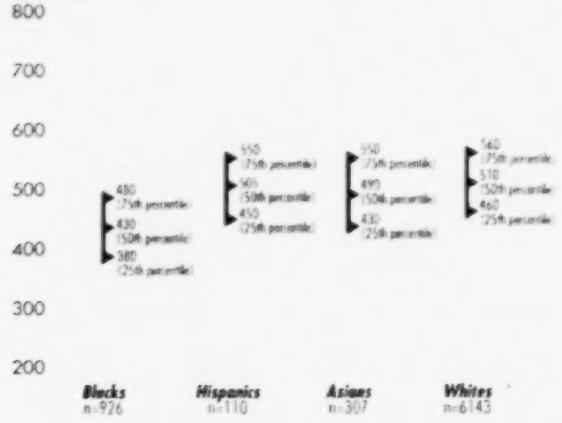

Figure 10 shows the range of verbal SAT scores by racial and ethnic group. White and Hispanic scores are roughly the same, while Asian scores are a bit lower. Differences in SAT verbal scores are substantial when comparing blacks to whites, Asians, and Hispanics. Most blacks have lower verbal scores compared to other groups. The black median SAT score equals the Asian score at the 25th percentile, and is 20 points lower than the Hispanic score and 30 points lower than the white score at the

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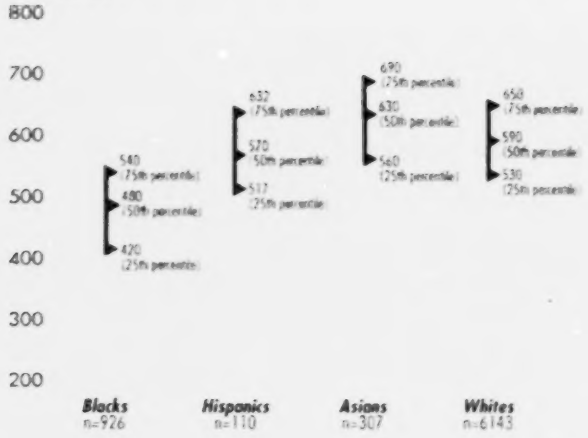
25th percentile.

Differences in Math SAT Scores

Figure 11



Group differences are greater for math scores. Most blacks have lower math scores compared to more than 75 percent of Asians, Hispanics, and whites. Asians have the highest scores, while white scores are somewhat higher than Hispanic scores. The black-Hispanic gap in median scores is 90 points, between blacks and whites, it is 110 points; and between blacks and Asians, 150 points.

Differences in GPAs

Figure 12

There are also group differences in high school GPAs. Asians have the best GPAs, followed by whites, Hispanics, and blacks. The black-Asian gap in median GPAs is roughly half of a grade-point. The white-black and Hispanic-black gap is somewhat smaller.

Rejectees vs. Admittees

NC State rejected 128 Asians, 89 Hispanics, and 2,338 whites. Compared to median scores and grades of black admittees, 24 Asians, 12 Hispanics, and 610 whites had higher verbal and math scores, while 35 Asians, 13 Hispanics, and 436 whites had better grades. Two Asians, one Hispanic, and 38 whites had higher verbal scores, math scores, and grade-point averages compared to the average black admittee.

Six-Year Graduation Rates

- 48 percent of blacks
- 55 percent of Hispanics
- 66 percent of Asians

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- 69 percent of whites

The differential in graduation rates is consistent with the large differences in average admittee scores and grades. Roughly 20 percent fewer blacks compared to Asians and whites graduate in six years.

UNC Asheville

Applicants, Admittees, and Enrollees

2,100 individuals applied for admission to UNC Asheville in 1995. 1,394 were admitted, while 394 enrolled. The overwhelming proportion of applicants, admittees, and enrollees was white.

UNC Asheville applicants

- 9 percent black
- 1 percent Hispanic
- 2 percent Asian
- 87 percent white

UNC Asheville admittees

- 10 percent black
- 2 percent Hispanic
- 2 percent Asian
- 87 percent white

UNC Asheville admission rates

- 69 percent of black applicants
- 75 percent of Hispanic applicants
- 67 percent of Asian applicants
- 66 percent of white applicants

UNC Asheville enrollees

- 8 percent black
- 1 percent Hispanic
- 2 percent Asian
- 89 percent white

Differences in Verbal SAT Scores
Figure 13

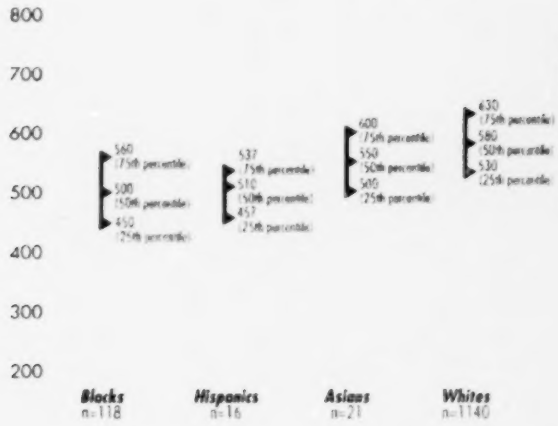
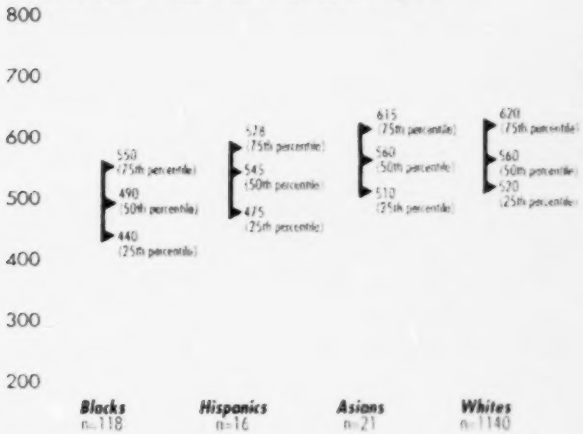


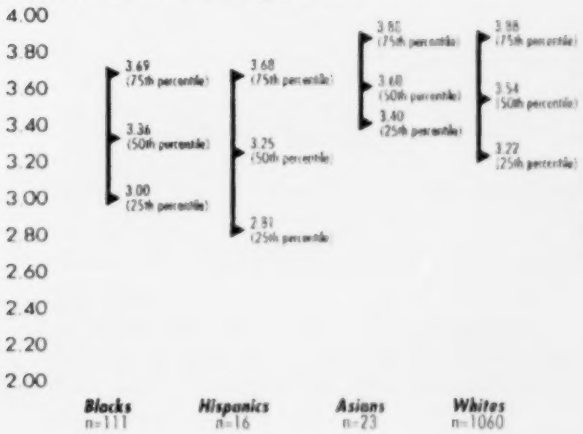
Figure 13 shows the range of verbal SAT scores by racial and ethnic group. Black and Hispanic scores are substantially lower than Asian and white scores, although there is some overlap. The white-black gap in median scores is 80 points; the white-Hispanic gap is 70 points. The black-Asian and Hispanic-Asian gaps are smaller.

Differences in Math SAT Scores Figure 14



There is also a gap in math scores. Like verbal scores, black scores are substantially lower than Asian and white scores, although there is some overlap. The white-black gap and the black-Asian gap in median scores is 70 points. The white-Hispanic and Hispanic-Asian gap is much smaller (15 points).

Differences in GPAs Figure 15



There are also group differences in high school GPAs, although the gaps are small. The black-Asian and white-black gaps in median GPAs are a little under a quarter-point. The Hispanic-Asian and white-Hispanic gaps are slightly larger than a quarter-point. Asians have the best GPAs, followed by whites, blacks, and Hispanics.

Rejectees vs. Admittees

UNC Asheville rejected 16 Asians, 61 blacks, 7 Hispanics, and 622 whites. Four Asian, 3 Hispanic, and 278 white rejectees had higher verbal and math scores compared to the average black admittee. One Asian and 12 white rejectees had higher test scores and grades.

Six-Year Graduation Rates

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- 39 percent of blacks
- 29 percent of Hispanics
- 40 percent of Asians
- 42 percent of whites

Hispanics have lower graduation rates than blacks, Asians, and whites.

UNC Chapel Hill

Applicants, Admittees, and Enrollees

In 1995, 9,002 individuals applied for admission to UNC Chapel Hill. Of these, 5,560 were admitted, and 3,285 subsequently enrolled. The overwhelming proportion of applicants, admittees, and enrollees was white.

UNC Chapel Hill applicants

- 12 percent black
- 2 percent Hispanic
- 6 percent Asian
- 80 percent white

UNC Chapel Hill admittees

- 13 percent black
- 1 percent Hispanic
- 5 percent Asian
- 80 percent white

UNC Chapel Hill admission rates

- 69 percent of black applicants
- 31 percent of Hispanic applicants
- 52 percent of Asian applicants
- 62 percent of white applicants

The black admissions rate is the highest of all groups. The Hispanic admissions rate is extremely low compared to other groups. Less than one in three Hispanic applicants was admitted.

UNC Chapel Hill enrollees

- 13 percent black
- 1 percent Hispanic

- 5 percent Asian
- 81 percent white

Differences in Verbal SAT Scores
Figure 16

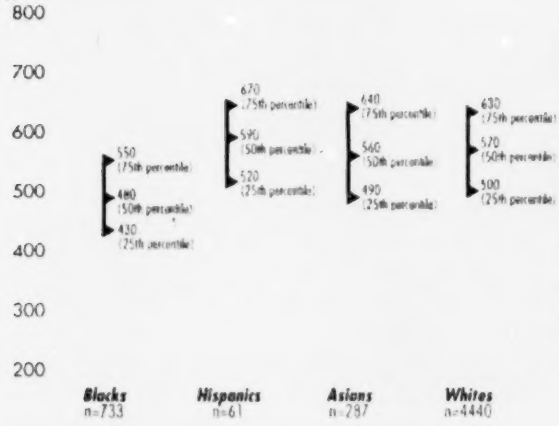


Figure 16 shows the range of verbal SAT scores by racial and ethnic group. Hispanics outscore the other three groups at all reported percentiles. The median Hispanic score is 20 points higher than the median white score, 30 points higher than the median Asian score, and 110 points higher than the median black score.

The black median score is substantially lower than scores for other groups: 110 lower than the Hispanic median, 80 points lower than the Asian median, and 90 points lower than the white median.

Differences in Math SAT Scores
Figure 17

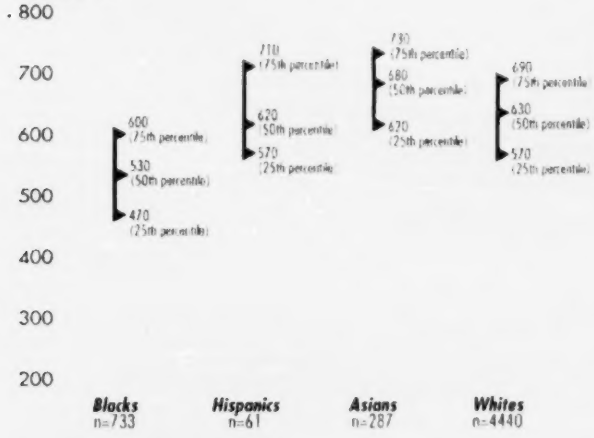
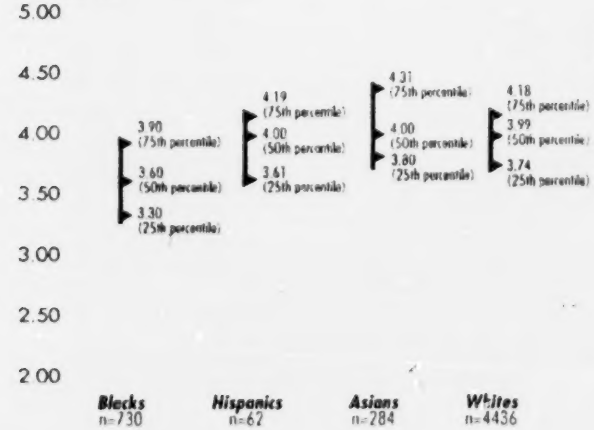


Figure 17 shows the range of math SAT scores. Hispanic and white scores are roughly the same, while Asian scores are higher. Black scores are lower. The white-black gap in median scores is 100 points, the black-Hispanic gap is 90 points, and the black-Asian gap is 150 points.

Differences in GPAs
Figure 18



There are smaller group differences in high school GPAs. Differences in median grades are less than one-half point.

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Rejectees vs. Admittees

UNC Chapel Hill rejected 262 Asians, 327 blacks, 135 Hispanics, and 2,718 whites. 171 Asians, 82 Hispanics, and 1,945 whites were rejected by UNC Chapel Hill despite having higher math and verbal scores compared to the average black admittee. A smaller number of rejectees (112 Asians, 44 Hispanics, and 1,230 whites) had better grades and better math and verbal scores.

Six-Year Graduation Rates

- 65 percent black
- 85 percent Hispanic
- 86 percent Asian
- 86 percent white

Hispanic, Asian, and white graduation rates are roughly the same, consistent with their similar scores and grades. The black graduation rate is much lower compared to other groups (a gap of roughly 20 points). This differential rate is not surprising given generally lower scores and grades.

UNC Charlotte

Applicants, Admittees, and Enrollees

In 1995, 5,890 individuals applied for admission to UNC Charlotte. Of these, 4,382 were admitted, and 1,660 enrolled. A large majority of applicants, admittees, and enrollees was white.

UNC Charlotte applicants

- 18 percent black
- 1 percent Hispanic
- 3 percent Asian
- 77 percent white

UNC Charlotte admittees

- 17 percent black
- 1 percent Hispanic
- 3 percent Asian
- 79 percent white

UNC Charlotte admission rates

- 70 percent of black applicants
- 67 percent of Hispanic applicants
- 71 percent of Asian applicants
- 76 percent of white applicants

UNC Charlotte enrollees

- 20 percent black
- 1 percent Hispanic
- 3 percent Asian
- 75 percent white

Differences in Verbal SAT Scores
Figure 19

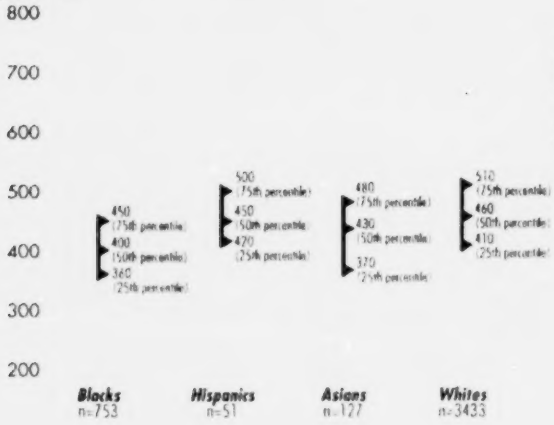

Figure 19 shows the range of verbal SAT scores by racial and ethnic group. Hispanic and white verbal scores are roughly the same. Asian scores are slightly lower, while black scores are lower still. The white-black gap in median scores is 60 points, compared to a 10-point gap between Hispanics and whites, and a 30-point gap between Asians and whites.

Differences in Math SAT Scores
Figure 20

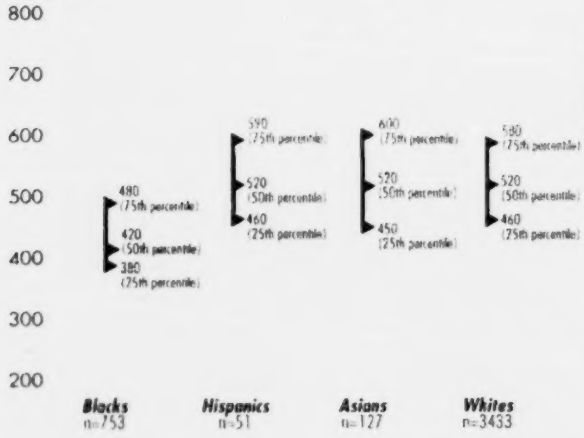

Figure 20 shows group differences in math scores. Black scores are much lower compared to other groups. Hispanics, Asians, and whites have the same median math score. The gap between these groups and the median black score is 100 points.

Differences in GPAs
Figure 21

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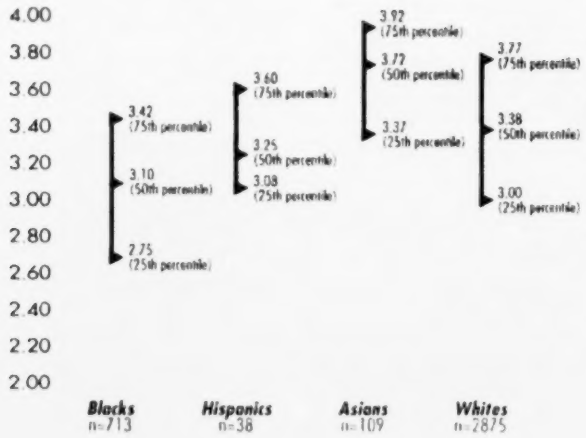

The reported percentiles for Asians are half a point or more higher than GPAs for blacks at the same percentiles. White and Hispanic GPAs fall in between.

Rejectees vs. Admittees

UNC Charlotte rejected 262 Asians, 327 blacks, 135 Hispanics, and 2,718 whites. Most of the rejectees had worse credentials compared to the average black admittee. Eight Asians, 6 Hispanics, and 299 whites had higher verbal and math scores compared to median scores for black admittees. Four Asians, 1 Hispanic, and 18 whites had better grades and higher scores.

Six-Year Graduation Rates

- 44 percent of blacks
- 50 percent of Hispanics
- 60 percent of Asians
- 57 percent of whites

Blacks graduated at a lower rate compared to whites, Hispanics, and Asians. This is consistent with their lower grades and scores upon admittance.

UNC Greensboro

Applicants, Admittees, and Enrollees

In 1995, 5,333 individuals applied for admission to UNC Greensboro. Of these, 4,769 were admitted, and 1,789 enrolled.

UNC Greensboro applicants

- 18 percent black
- 2 percent Hispanic
- 3 percent Asian
- 77 percent white

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UNC Greensboro admittees

- 16 percent black
- 2 percent Hispanic
- 3 percent Asian
- 79 percent white

UNC Greensboro admission rates

- 80 percent of black applicants
- 89 percent of Hispanic applicants
- 87 percent of Asian applicants
- 92 percent of white applicants

UNC Greensboro enrollees

- 20 percent black
- 1 percent Hispanic
- 3 percent Asian
- 76 percent white

Differences in Verbal SAT Scores
Figure 22

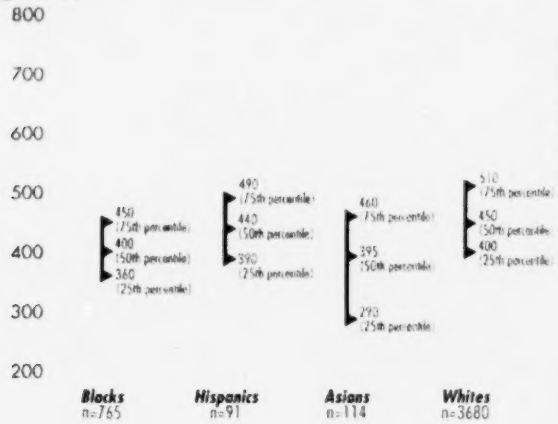

Figure 22 shows the range of verbal SAT scores by racial and ethnic group. Whites have the highest scores. Hispanic scores are slightly lower. Blacks and Asians have lower scores. The white-black gap is 50 points; the white-Asian gap is 55 points.

Differences in Math SAT Scores
Figure 23

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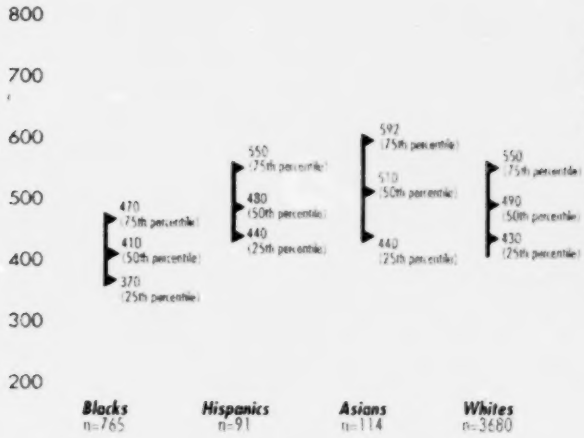
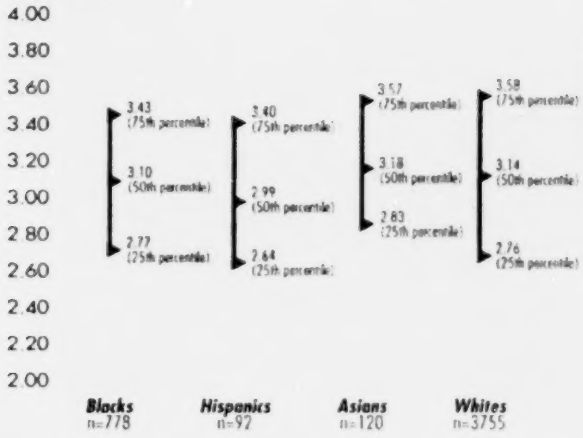


Figure 23 shows the math SAT scores by racial and ethnic group. Asian scores are the highest, followed by white and Hispanic scores. Black scores are significantly lower. The Asian-white gap in median scores is 20 points, while the Asian-Hispanic gap is 30 points. In contrast, the black median is 70 points lower than the Hispanic median, 80 points lower than the white median, and 100 points lower than the Asian median.

Differences in GPAs
Figure 24



There are only small differences in high school GPAs among groups. The largest gap in median scores is the Asian-Hispanic gap (0.19 points), with the Asian median being higher.

Rejectees vs. Admittees

UNC Greensboro rejected 18 Asians, 190 blacks, 11 Hispanics, and 345 whites. Six Asian, 1 Hispanic, and 80 white rejectees had math and verbal scores higher than the median scores for black admittees. One Asian, 1 Hispanic, and 2 white rejectees had higher test scores and grades compared to the average black admittee.

Six-Year Graduation Rates

- 47 percent of blacks
- 25 percent of Hispanics
- 45 percent of Asians
- 51 percent of whites

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The white-black difference in graduation rates is only 4 percent, despite blacks having lower test scores (but only slightly lower grades). Hispanics have comparable scores and grades to the other groups, but only one in four Hispanics graduates in six years.

UNC Wilmington

Applicants, Admittees, and Enrollees

In 1995, 6,865 individuals applied for admission to UNC Wilmington. Of these, 3,869 were admitted, and 1,409 enrolled. The overwhelming proportion of applicants, admittees, and enrollees was white.

UNC Wilmington applicants

- 5 percent black
- 2 percent Hispanic
- 2 percent Asian
- 92 percent white

UNC Wilmington admittees

- 6 percent black
- 1 percent Hispanic
- 2 percent Asian
- 92 percent white

UNC Wilmington admission rates

- 65 percent of black applicants
- 40 percent of Hispanic applicants
- 54 percent of Asian applicants
- 56 percent of white applicants

The admission rate for Hispanic applicants is much lower than that for all other groups.

UNC Wilmington enrollees

- 6 percent black
- 1 percent Hispanic
- 1 percent Asian
- 92 percent white

Differences in Verbal SAT Scores
Figure 25

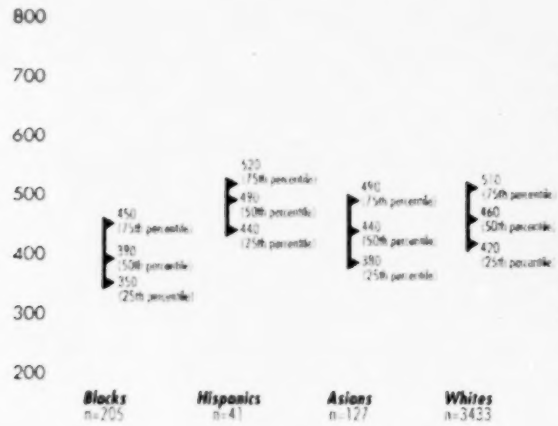

Figure 25 shows group differences in verbal SAT scores. Hispanic scores are somewhat higher than Asian and white scores. The Hispanic-Asian gap in median scores is 50 points. The gap is 30 points between Hispanics and whites.

Black scores are lower. The Hispanic-black gap in median scores is 100 points, while the white-black gap in median scores is 70 points. The black median is much lower compared to scores at the 25th percentile for Hispanics and whites.

Differences in Math SAT Scores
Figure 26

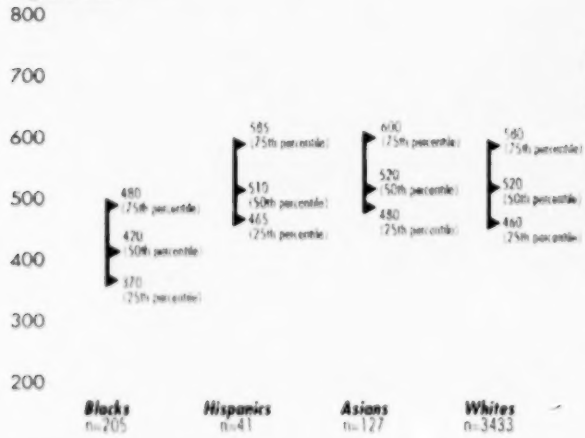

Figure 26 shows math SAT scores for the four groups. Asian, white, and Hispanic scores are similar. Black scores are much lower. There is a 100-point gap in median scores between blacks and whites, and blacks and Asians, and the Hispanic-black gap is 90 points. Most black admittees have lower scores than over 75 percent of Hispanic, Asian, and white admittees.

Differences in GPAs
Figure 27

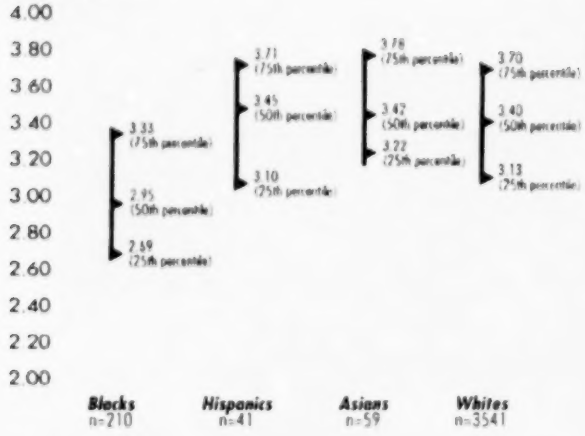

Figure 27 presents group GPAs. The median black GPA is roughly a half-point lower than the median GPA for Hispanics, Asians, and whites.

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Rejectees vs. Admittees

UNC Wilmington rejected 51 Asians, 115 blacks, 62 Hispanics, and 2,768 whites. Nineteen Asian, 22 Hispanic, and 1,155 white rejectees had higher math and verbal test scores compared to the median scores of black admittees. Six Asians, 5 Hispanics, and 247 whites were rejected despite having higher test scores and grades.

Graduation Rates

- 45 percent of blacks
- 36 percent of Hispanics
- 54 percent of Asians
- 53 percent of whites

Blacks graduate at a lower rate compared to Asians and whites. Hispanics graduate at an even lower rate.

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